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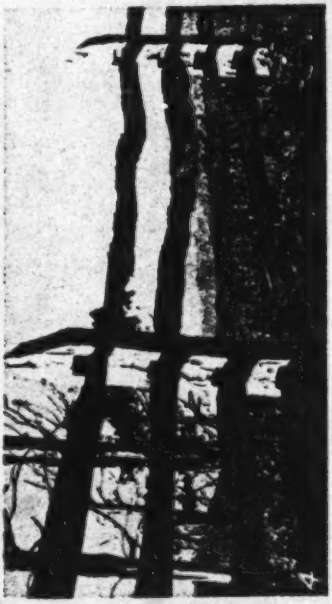

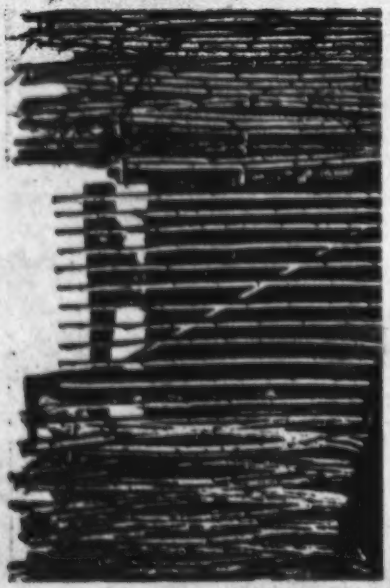

Fences: 1, Chicken yard (Borca). 2, Garden (Coñaripe). 3, Sheep pasture (Coñaripe). 4, Cattle pasture (Alepie).

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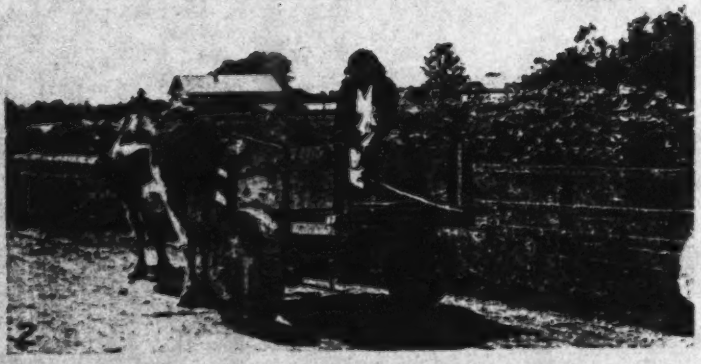

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Sheep, and transportation: 1. A flock of sheep in Coñaripe. 2, Transportation by oxcart (Alepúe). (Note wheels of tree-trunk sections.) 3. Dugout used in transporting persons across the Río Llanquihue in Coñaripe.

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231 bees nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs [426] to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [262 177] times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [422] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, choapinos and lamas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lamas and choapinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sana, a disease that causes them to lose their

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wool, the sheep are washed periodically with water mixed with human urine.

Every household has chickens, which are owned by women and children. The meat is readily eaten; the eggs are used only in the preparation of food, and then rarely. A certain breed—spoken of by non-Araucanians as the Araucanian chicken—is found in all areas; it has particularized tufts on the head and lays eggs of pastel pink and blue colors. Chickens are fed in the open, but are taken into the ruka to sleep and brood, to prevent foxes from taking them. An Alepúe woman who had worked as a domestic in a Chilean home could no longer tolerate her chickens in the ruka, she said, and consequently had a coop built for them (pl. 54, *3*). In general a hen is allowed to brood her eggs, but if eggs are wanted for food preparation, they are searched for in high grass or wherever a hen is heard cackling. If she is set, it is done at the waning of the moon, "the only time the moon has strength." Turkeys are raised for meat. They, too, are owned by women and children. Since they can protect themselves, no shelter is provided for them, and they roost on trees near the ruka.

Usually every household has several dogs. All are watchdogs, and must guard the sheep at night and the ruka and its inhabitants at all times. "It gives one a feeling of protection to have a dog nearby." A dog is trained to bark at anyone passing along the way, even at some distance from the ruka which he is guarding; he has been trained to dash out at full speed at anyone on a path that leads toward the ruka or passes close to it, but to halt just before he gets to the person, provided the person stands still and looks at him. By this time, generally, someone from the ruka—often a child—has come forward and either recalls the dog or walks toward the oncoming person; in either case the dog subsides. When a dog shows signs of laziness ("he becomes as lazy as a cat is at noon, you know"), he is given a pinch of chili in his food; this spurs him on and makes his bark sharp and fierce. A person who sets out to travel on foot through woods or ravines on the Coastal Range or in unfrequented or wooded regions of the Andes takes his dog with him as a protection against pumas. "Pumas detest dogs!" A dog is not allowed in the ruka; he is shooed out immediately if he enters it, even though he only pokes his head in at the door. "Why should he be in the ruka? He can protect himself. Chickens cannot; the fox will get them!"

Every household has at least one cat that is a mouser. Her place is in the ruka. During an interview a cat tried to get at some cheese which was being pressed under a weight. A little girl corrected her twice with a "tsch" and she obeyed; at a third attempt, the little girl

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221 slapped her, whereupon she retired to her corner. "That cat was not trained right when she was a kitten," the mother explained.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are grazed in the same pasture, unless the owner has enough land to graze them separately. Grazing lands are burnt-over lands along creeks, rivers, or lake shores. In Boroa area care is exercised when a pasture is selected that it is free of cicuta mayor, a poisonous plant found among the grass in the area. "It is difficult now to find a pasture that does not have it; it has spread everywhere. If horses eat much of it, they die."

[417] Areas set aside for grazing are fenced in; so are wheat fields, potato patches, and gardens (pl. 1). Fences are of various kinds (pls. 36; 37, *1* and *2*): they may be saplings tied to posts with stout vine; they may consist of rails that rest in openings cut into posts (pl. 36, *4*); or they may be split tree trunks either set close together in upright position (pl. 36, *2*) or laid in such a way that animals cannot move them or edge their way through them (pl. 36, *3*). Horses, cattle, and sheep are not placed under shelter at any time. Pigs are kept in enclosures at the edge of running water, not too far from the ruka.

232 Animals afflicted with hoof and mouth disease are made to drink a
233 decoction of huella, a plant collected on the shores of brooks where there is fast-running water, "something we learnt from the Chileans." For diarrhea, cattle are given a mixture of powdered leaves of centella and powdered ashes of cochayuyo, "something we have always done. I saw my father throw a ball of it into the mouth of a horse; it cured the horse," said a 12-year-old Alepúe boy.

233 Horses, cattle, and sheep are branded by the owner, or by another
422 Araucanian whom he asks to do so. Cattle and horses are branded with the initials of the owner's given and family names; a piece of glowing hot iron is used. Sheep are marked in the ear, with a notch or hole or a similar mark.

233 Since pumas often take sheep at night, the sheep are usually corralled near the ruka toward evening, where the dogs are supposed to protect them. However, if a dog is not ferocious enough to ward off a puma, the sheep are put into an enclosure, 6 feet or more high, built of stocks of quila, which are either set close together in upright position or are built up, one above the other horizontally, and kept in position by being bent over and under successive upright posts that are set some distance apart (similar to the fence in pl. 37, *1*). If a puma persists in stealing sheep from such a corral, a second wall of quila like the first is built around the enclosure, approximately 3 feet away from it. "No puma is foolish enough to jump over two fences so

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close together! He knows he is taking a chance of falling between the fences and getting caught." 233

It is one of the chores of boys and girls of school age to fetch the family's sheep late in the afternoon and put them into the enclosure, and then in the morning to lead them to pasture before leaving home for school.

Children own animals, often from birth. Offspring of such animals also belong to the child. The following table gives samples of answers written by Alepúe children to the question, "What animals do you own?" 231 422

TABLE 5.—*Child ownership of domestic animals*

Age and sex of child	Animals owned (child's statement)
15-year-old girl	One hen and her three chicks; one turkey hen and her eight little poults.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Remolino, one old ewe, two rams.
14-year-old boy	One horse called Curan, one young milch cow, one old ewe and her little ram lamb.
14-year-old girl	Three hens, four cows, one little calf.
14-year-old girl	One cat, two kittens, one dog. "I call the dog Panduro."
12-year-old boy	One sheep, one boar, one hen, one goose.
12-year-old girl	One old cow with a little unborn calf, two young milch cows, one calf, one mare and her colt, two chickens and three chicks.
12-year-old boy	Only a dog; "I call him Almirante."
11-year-old boy	One ewe, one hen, and an old ox called Sambo.
5-year-old boy	Two turkey hens, ten turkey poults, one young ox, one dog and one ewe.
5-year-old girl	A cow, a calf, two hens.

When the 5-year-old girl handed in her paper she commented with disappointment, "My sister wrote this because I cannot write those words. But she would not write down that the two hens each had chicks." Her little friend listening in said, "I had a chicken, too; but the fox came and ate it."

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING, COLLECTING SEAFOODS

Hunting and trapping, according to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 702-703), played a minor role in Araucanian economy in the past, and are practically never engaged in today. In the early days, Cooper reports, the principal large animals hunted for food were the guanaco, the huemel or guemal, and the pudú. Birds taken were the tinamou, the bandurria, parrots, doves, wild ducks, geese, and swans. The 224

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a piece of land within that area. "My husband, who was the cacique," 648
explained an 80-year-old Quilaquina woman, "was given five leguas of land for his people, bordering on this lake, Lake Lacar [probably 15 miles of lake front] (pl. 64, *1*, *2*). He let his people settle on it. We thought that land belonged to us. Then the tourists began to settle on it and we lost all the land bordering on the lake. Again we had to move. Our family moved up here, onto the mountainside; down there on the shore of the lake you can still see the orchard of our old place. I have fears, sometimes now, that the Government will also take the land on which we now live." The following quotation from an informant is typical of the feeling of insecurity of many persons regarding land holding: "I lived in one place for 39 years but had to leave it when they took our land. Then I leased land from the Government in another locality. Not long after that the Government laid out national parks in that area. They wanted me to move off my place, but I refused to do so. In consequence they turned my house over and burned it. We lived under a tree after that. Before long they told me to take my sheep and cattle away, for they were eating the small trees needed to beautify the national parks. Since I had no place to put my animals, I let them run loose. I took my wife and children, and they took some hens, and we went where other families like ours had already gone. It was discouraging, too, to leave my maturing wheat and oats. I found work, then, in various places, as a hired man, at odd jobs; I worked at any job that I could get. The town officials of San Martin de los Andes later gave me this small piece of land on which we now live; it is very stoney and little will grow on it. But for the time being at least we can call it our place. I still work at odd jobs."

Cattle, at the present time, are grazed on land leased from the Argen- 648
tine Government, usually under a communal lease administered by the 427
cacique. Manuel Pañefülu, cacique of Malleo (pl. 77, *1*), had leased such land for the 45 families under his jurisdiction. Each family lived on a portion of the land and had some under cultivation. The cacique pointed out his wheat field with just pride. Animals of all families were grazed on common pasturelands. Every owner, toward evening, came to the pasture, collected his animals, drove them home, and placed them in corrals for the night, to be again taken to the pasture in the morning. The total area leased by the Malleo people was approximately 13,500 acres.

After the grain begins to sprout, families take their cattle and 221
sheep to the higher valleys of the Andes for summer grazing, which 233
is also a communal affair. The danger to unfenced wheat fields is

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221 233 thus lessened, and pastures near the homesteads can grow to maturity for winter grazing. Grazing in the higher valleys needs no lease, and therefore no payment has to be made. Many homesteads are completely closed for the duration of summer grazing; in an occasional household two persons, seldom three, are left to care for chickens and other fowl. In Quilaquina area on January 4 (1952) there was not a 4-footed animal to be seen, and most homesteads looked deserted. Each family, on return from summer grazing, brings with it as much hay as it can haul. This is stored for winter forage, usually in shack-like shelters.

231 556 Wealth, in the early days, consisted of sheep and cattle; in more recent times, of horses also. Old informants spoke of large herds belonging to their families formerly. These were owned by the father. Children owned no animals. The husband of a 70-year-old woman had owned more than 100 horses, 60 cows, and several hundred sheep. No one can lay claim to wealth today. Ownership of 4-footed animals is now restricted by the Government—apportionment is per family, not according to the size of the family. One of my informants owned 5 calves and a large number of turkeys, geese, ducks, and chickens; another, 3 pairs of oxen, 5 horses, and several sheep; another, "just enough sheep for our meat supply"; and still another, 4 oxen, 5 horses, 32 sheep, 13 geese, turkeys, and chickens. Several families were raising doves for food.

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

243 Wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapolwa) were cultivated in the early days; wild quinoa and a species of wild barley (kawella) were collected. Today, wheat, barley (now called kawella), and oats (huinca kawella, barley of Whites) are raised by every family fortunate enough to have a glade or some cleared land. Dung of sheep and goats is utilized as fertilizer. In general, plowing is done with a wooden plow drawn by a pair of oxen (pl. 75, *1*). Men scatter seed by hand while walking across the fields.

Usually grain stored for winter use is consumed before ears of the newly planted grain have ripened. The first ripened ears of wheat are stripped off their stalks by hand, "as we used to strip off wild grain in the early days and all wheat before we had sickles," and are threshed in a basket with the feet, as formerly. At harvest time the grain is cut with a sickle and threshed by horses tramping on it in a fenced-in circular area, known as lila (pl. 75, *3*). If the lila is small, 5 or 6 horses do the tramping; if much larger, as many as 10 or 12 are used.

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Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

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amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

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A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

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abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils — in short a general lack of modern technological know-how — in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 — scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

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fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

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Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the
[896] rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén re-
24 gion as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a
[242] fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes
[134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the
[131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast,
[439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market.
24 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher
433 than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

23 The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep,
[922] in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

24 A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before
[233] the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops
[262] in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered.
[227] Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources
[226] were not tapped.

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and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

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In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

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of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region. The 293 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

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Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half-share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chileans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing throughout the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore, no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle), 71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

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erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

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dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself.

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime.

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings.

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him.

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work.

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women having previously brought up their fresh horses, they were in almost less time than it takes to write it in the saddle, and formed into excellent line, lances in hand, waiting for us to go through the ceremony of welcome. In about five minutes our ranks were dressed, and the usual galloping, shouting, and ceremonious greetings gone through. I was particularly struck with the bold, honest bearing of the young men of this party, who, dressed in gay-coloured ponchos, with clean linen drawers and white flannel vests underneath, presented a most civilised appearance. More noticeable than the remainder, who numbered but twenty-seven in all, were four brothers, particularly handsome, robust men, with florid complexions, who at a distance, where the colour of their eyes could not be distinguished, looked almost like Europeans; which remark made to El Sourdo, who was my right-hand man during the performance, called forth the reply in a low voice, 'Very much devil these Indians; perhaps fight.' That he could have entertained the idea when we were at least ten times their number, speaks volumes for the Araucanian character for bravery.

However, all passed off quietly, and a council was fixed for the following day. As we were returning to the toldos we observed some of the Araucanians bringing up a flock of sheep, and others a herd of cattle, from some woods bordering the stream, which flowed to the northward. On the eastern side of the valley some four or five hundred horses and mares were grazing on the green pasture; and Hinchel pointed out to me with great glee the horses and mares—about a hundred head—owned by his eldest son, who had married an Araucanian woman, and resided with them; and the proud father declared that we should not want for food, as he likewise owned cattle and sheep.

Casimiro informed me that many years ago, whilst travelling northwards, he met these same Indians on foot. Their custom was to hunt with large dogs that they kept expressly for the chase, and dividing the meat equally, carry it back